2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

We took particular pains to gather as much information as possible on fecundity, infant mortality, and the death-rate of mothers in childbirth. Sixty women were questioned. The fecundity we found to be variable; one of the women claimed to have borne twelve children—the highest number encountered—and some had no offspring at all. The usual number of children was found to be two or three. Interestingly enough, there is a low infant mortality; that is to say, a low death-rate for infants during the first six months after birth, but a high child mortality. The higher death-rate occurs among children from the ages of two to six years. There seemed to be a considerable number of premature births, and deaths of mothers at the time of birth or shortly thereafter are numerous. After much questioning, we found this to be one of the grievances of the Djukas, for they consider the Dutch medical authorities could do a great deal in alleviating such a condition. The precautions surrounding the mother at the time of childbirth or shortly thereafter are very crude and they may lead to infections and end in death by puerperal sepsis.

The birth of a child is usually the occasion for some slight celebration. The umbilical cord is severed with a knife (unsterilized, of course) and buried behind the hut. The placenta is thrown into the river. *Trismus neonatorum,* a tetanus infection by way of the umbilical cord, occasionally occurs, due to the extremely unclean conditions surrounding parturition. As can be seen from the photographs, some of the Djuka children suffer from umbilical hernia, because the cord is

/519 cont./

125 --158 (80%) answered with good grace;

--33 (17%) answered with reticence or gave contradictory answers in 1956 and 1957. Checking showed that they neglected to mention a living child, generally one of their older ones whom they were not raising themselves. In spite of the precautions taken, there are some omissions in the census of the adolescents and young people because of this (7).

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> 7. On the other hand, we never ascertained any dissimulation concerning dead children. On the contrary, the Boni women speak of their deceased children with a certain indifference.

For 28 of these women we were able to reconstruct their lives with sufficient precision by interrogating contradictorily the husbands and the older brothers of the same mother. The five others were eliminated;

7 (3%) obstinately refused to answer without giving any justification for their attitude.

[484] Eighteen women could not be added, this being due to the continual moving of the Boni between their villages, their crop plantings, and their fishing places.

We took into account 7 women who died before 1957, whom we had been able to question in the preceding years.

[163] All in all, we have preserved 193 records of women having had 747 children, of whom 472 had survived as of the first of January 1958.

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128 Fertility. We have classed the women, according to the year of
● 163 birth, into four categories, for fertility has varied considerably in the course of time. The study has been made by five-year age-blocks. The table below /see p. 16 / shows the cumulative fertility (total of figures obtained for the various age-blocks from 15 to 50 years of age). For the women of categories three and four, the number obtained is the result of an extrapolation.

842 Among the Boni there is no custom leading to a diminution of fertility, and the voluntary restriction of births is unknown.

163 The vertical fall of fertility between categories one and
164 two results from the invasion of venereal diseases, which seems
[177] to have coincided with the period (1920) when the search for the balata brought into the interior a heavy traffic of adventurers
[831] accompanied by numerous prostitutes. The very free morals of the Boni favor the propagation of the illness, which, since that time, has not ceased its ravages, stemmed only, but not eliminated, by the medical effort of these last years.

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Category	Born	Cumulative Fertility	Rate of Sterility	Age when half the children were born (a)
		%	%	Years
1	1850—1895	7.30	5	31
2	1896—1915	3.83	21	27
3	1816—1925			
4	1926—1938	4.52	15	27 (b)

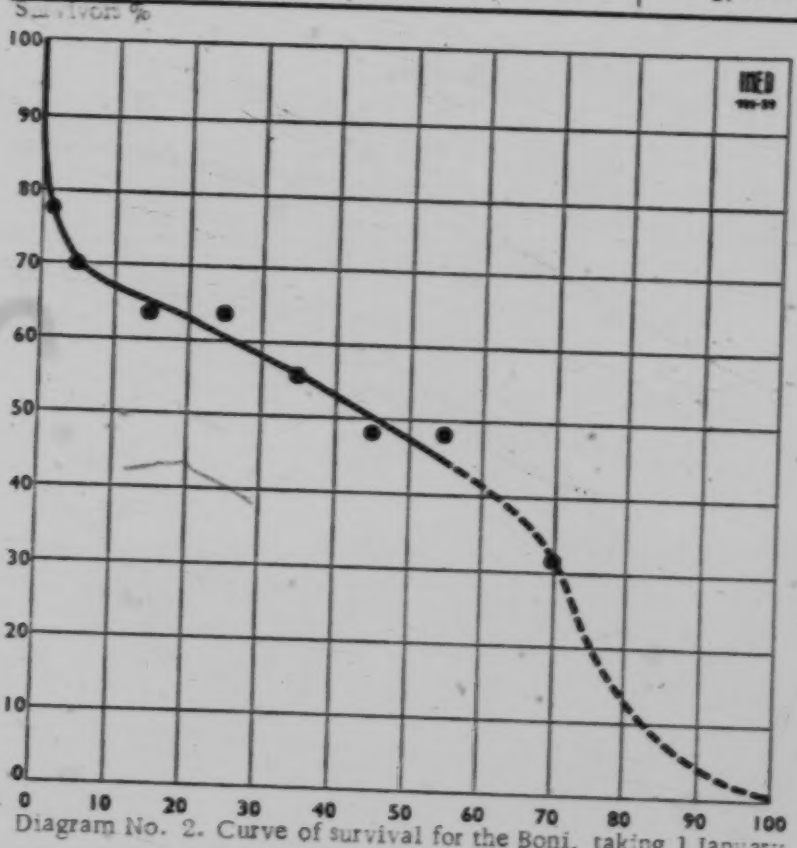

Diagram No. 2. Curve of survival for the Boni, taking 1 January 1950 as the date of reference.

1638. In the evaluation of the net rate of reproduction (cf. p. 523), the 128 average age should be brought in; there is the danger, however, of this being overestimated as a result of errors in the ages; this is why we preferred to substitute for it the median age.

9. The calculation with regard to the women of category 4 could not, in view of their age, give precise results. We preferred to adopt the figure for the preceding category.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

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601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily
• [163] be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for
as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up
to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between
the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemi, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

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429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 [604] [593] Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 886 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuiuba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

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593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search • [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 [601] In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△	Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△	Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○	Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△	A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïston);

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○S... 1947 raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);
○S... 1947 raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

• [163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C... 1945 raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);
△ A... 1947 raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M... 1950 raised by Mélita;
△ C... 1952 raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);
○ K... 1953 raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Baïna's father;
○ F... 1956 raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise
[163] them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at
[828] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

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593 Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are
[591] seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old
[163] age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Asamani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had
[581] eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce. that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] [511] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her husband; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But 581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their 586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with [584] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives 586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been • 163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K) †	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159 582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958). About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and 159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Nevertheless, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S..., [849] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

586 128 [178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study: